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Message Text

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ACTION IO-03

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FM AMEMBASSY CARACAS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4277 4278
INFO AMEMBASSY BRAZILIA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY COLOMBO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
AMEMBASSY SEOUL
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
US MISSION GENEVA PRIORITY 251 252
US MISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY 1021 1022

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 CARACAS 9583

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: UNGA, XM, BR
SUBJECT: CONSULTATIONS WITH BRAZILIAN FOREIGN MINISTER AND
OTHER OFFICIALS ON UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY ISSUES

REF: BRASILIA 6784 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY: DURING THREE DAYS OF FRANK, FRIENDLY, AND BUSINESSLIKE
DISCUSSIONS, ASSISTANT SECRETARY LEWIS AND CHARLES FRANK (E)
REVIEWED WITH BRAZILIAN FOREIGN MINISTRY ALL MAJOR UNGA ISSUES,
PROSPECTS FOR NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT
MEETING, NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE, SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENTS,
MIDDLE EAST PROSPECTS, ETC. BRAZILIANS FEAR AFTERMATH OF ENTEBBE
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HIJACKING MAY HARDEN AFRICAN ATTITUDES AGAINST US AT UNGA --

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AND THINK AFRICAN ISSUES WILL DOMINATE UNGA'S POLITICAL AGENDA. OTHERWISE THEY EXPECT LESS CONFRONTATIONAL GA SESSION THAN LAST YEAR. THEY EXPECT UNGA WILL STRONGLY REFLECT TONE OF COLOMBO OUTCOME.

GOB SHOULD BE FULLY SUPPORTIVE ON PUERTO RICO AND PANAMA; SHOULD MAINTAIN LAST YEAR'S POSITION ON KOREA; AND WILL APPARENTLY REMAIN ON ARAB SIDE OF LEDGER ON MIDDLE EAST ISSUES, ESPECIALLY ANY REPETITION OF ZIONISM/RASCISM--THOUGH GOB WOULD OPPOSE ISRAELI SUSPENSION SHOULD QUESTION ARISE. END SUMMARY.

2. ASSISTANT SECRETARY LEWIS AND CHARLES FRANK (E), ACCOMPANIED BY AMBASSADOR, DCM AND EMBASSY'S POL AND ECON COUNSELORS, HELD EXTENSIVE DISCUSSIONS AUGUST 2, 3 AND 4 WITH BRAZILIAN FOREIGN MINISTER SILVEIRA AND NUMEROUS SENIOR FONMIN OFFICIALS. CONSULTATIONS COVERED PROSPECTS FOR COLOMBO NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT AND UNGA, PLUS STATUS OF NORTH-SOUTH ECONOMIC DIALOGUE (REPORTED BY SEPTEL). TALKS WERE DETAILED AND COMPREHENSIVE, CONDUCTED IN BUSINESSLIKE AND VERY FRIENDLY ATMOSPHERE. SILVEIRA MADE SPECIAL POINT OF HIS PLEASURE AT THIS FURTHER EXAMPLE OF "CONTINUING CONSULTATIONS" WITHIN OVERALL FRAMEWORK OF KISSINGER-SILVEIRA "MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING." LEWIS OUTLINED US POSITION ON ALL KEY UNGA ISSUES, STRESSING IN PARTICULAR PUERTO RICO, KOREA, ME ISSUES, HIJACKING, TERRORISM, AND SOUTHERN AFRICA. BRAZILIAN OFFICIALS PUT MOST EVPHASIS ON AFRICAN PROBLEMS, PROSPECTS FOR COLOMBO, AND HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTIONS. FOLLOWING PARAGRAPHS SUMMARIZE DISCUSSIONS ON MAJOR TOPICS.

3. EXPECTATIONS ABOUT NAC AND OVERALL PROSPECTS FOR UNGA. MINISTER BAENA SOARES AND COUNSELOR AZAMBUJA (WHO WILL BE BRAZILIAN OBSERVERS AT COLOMBO) BELIEVE THIS YEAR'S GENERAL ASSEMBLY WILL BE A "CONSEQUENCE" OF THE COLOMBO CONFERENCE. HOWEVER, BRAZILIANS PREDICTED THAT GA WOULD BE LESS CONFRONTATIONAL THAN LAST YEAR'S IN PART BECAUSE THE US HAS A NEW AMBASSADOR IN NY, IN PART BECAUSE THE ARABS ARE BADLY DIVIDED AND IN PART BECAUSE OF BELIEF THAT MUCH OF THE DEBATE AT COLOMBO WILL CENTER ON ECONOMIC ISSUES. AMB. SOUTO SANTO MAIOR (SILVEIRA'S CHEF DE CABINET) WARNED THAT NAC SUMMIT WILL COMMAND MORE "AUTHORITY" THAN LOWER-LEVEL NAC MEETINGS, AND STRONGLY INFLUENCE UNGA BEHAVIOR OF NON-ALIGNED. HE ALSO MADE CLEAR THAT BRAZIL CANNOT INFLUENCE WHAT HAPPENS AT COLOMBO. CONFIDENTIAL

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GOB'S LATEST COUNT IS THAT AT LEAST 50 HEADS OF STATES AND GOVERNMENT
S
WILL ATTEND THE COLOMBO MEETINGS. BRAZILIANS REPEATEDLY WARNED THAT REPERCUSSIONS OF THE ENTEBBE RAID WILL STRONGLY AFFECT AFRICAN BEHAVIOR AT UNGA. IN THEIR VIEW, SOUTHERN AFRICA WILL BE MORE "DYNAMIC" ISSUE THAN MIDDLE EAST, AND US VETOES ON ANGOLA AND VIET NAM ADMITTANCE TO UN MAY STIMULATE POLITICAL RETALIATION ON THE PUERTO RICAN ISSUE. AZAMBUJA DID NOT BELIEVE THE NON-ALIGNED

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WILL ACCOMPLISH MUCH EITHER AT COLOMBO OR AT UNGA. IT IS A CONFUSING YEAR, HE SAID, AND NO NEW LEADER APPEARS EMERGENT. LEWIS COMMENTED TO FOREIGN MINISTER THAT CUBANS TEND TO SUCCEED TOO EASILY IN MANIPULATING SOME NON-ALIGNED FORUMS, PARTLY BECAUSE NON-ALIGNED HEAR TOO LITTLE FROM OTHER LATIN AMERICANS. FOREIGN MINISTER REPLIED THAT NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT IS LOSING ITS PURPOSE.

4. TERRORISM - BRAZILIANS SEE POOR PROSPECTS FOR A FRUITFUL DISCUSSION OF TERRORISM, AND ARE WARY OF ANOTHER DEFEAT ON A TERRORIST INITIATIVE SIMILAR TO 1973 UNGA EFFORT, WHICH GOB SUPPORTED. SOME OFFICIALS THOUGHT IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE ACHIEVE SOMETHING ON A NARROWER FOCUS -- HIJACKING, OR RIGHTS OF HOSTAGES. ALL WARNED OF RESIDUE OF ANTIPATHY LEFT BY ENTEBBE AFFAIR. SILVEIRA STRESSED HIS BELIEF THAT AFRICANS WILL NOT FORGET ENTEBBE. BRAZILIANS OBSERVED THAT GOB, AS DISTINGUISHED FROM US AND EUROPEAN PRESS, DOES NOT IDENTIFY TERRORISM ONLY WITH ARAB TERRORISM. THERE WAS CLEAR RELUCTANCE TO SUPPORT AN APPROACH WHICH EXCLUDED "INTERNAL TERRORISM" -- GOB'S PRIME CONCERN. AZAMBUJA SAID ONE DIFFICULTY WITH TERRORISM PROPOSALS IS STRIKING A BALANCE IN A SINGLE TEXT. HE SUGGESTED IT MIGHT BE BETTER TO HAVE TWO RESOLUTIONS, ONE CONDEMNING THE VIOLATION OF SOVEREIGNTY IN UGANDA, AND THE OTHER PROPOSING STRONG MEASURES AGAINST HIJACKING. (LEWIS MADE CLEAR U.S. POSITION ON ENTEBBE RAID WOULD REMAIN AS STATED DURING S.C. DEBATE.) HE THEN ASKED LEWIS ABOUT VENEZUELAN AND COLOMBIA SUPPORT FOR A TERRORISM RESOLUTION. LEWIS REPLIED THAT US IS COMPLETELY OPEN WITH RESPECT TO TACTICS, AND THAT NOT ONLY COLOMBIA AND VENEZUELA APPARENTLY PLAN TO INTRODUCE THEIR OWN RESOLUTION, BUT THAT THE FRG HAS PLANS TO DO SO AS WELL. IF BRAZIL IS INTERESTED IN PLAYING A ROLE, HE URGED GOB TO TALK TO COLOMBIANS AND VENEZUELANS. (GOB SHOWED LIMITED ENTHUSIASM.) BRAZILIANS CONCLUDED DISCUSSION ON VERY SKEPTICAL NOTE, BUT ASSURED LEWIS THEY WILL EXAMINE CAREFULLY WHAT-
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EVER TEXTS WERE PUT FORWARD.

5. DISARMAMENT - BRAZILIANS SHOWED SOME INTEREST IN CCD AND EFFORT TO DRAFT ENVIRONMENTAL WARFARE TREATY, PARTICULARLY ITS PRECISE SCOPE AND WHEN THE NEGOTIATIONS WOULD CONCLUDE. MAIN GOB CONCERN IS THAT TREATY NOT BE SO BROAD AS TO STIMULATE COMPLAINTS BY BRAZIL'S NEIGHBORS ABOUT ACTIONS WHICH MIGHT BE TAKEN IN BRAZIL'S INTERIOR LAND AREA WHICH MIGHT HAVE ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT. BRAZILIANS WERE CAREFUL, HOWEVER, TO SAY THEY WERE NEITHER FOR NO AGAINST TREATY AT THIS TIME. LEWIS DESCRIBED BRIEFLY US POSITION ON CCD CO-CHAIRMANSHIP, AND SAID THAT UNFORTUNATLY HE WAS NOT UP-TO-DATE ON STATUS OF TREATY NEGOTIATIONS.

6. HUMAN RIGHTS - BRAZILIANS RETURNED REPEATEDLY THROUGHOUT TALKS

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P 062133Z AUG 76
FM AMEMBASSY CARACAS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4278
INFO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASY COLOMBO PRIORITY 12-13
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
AMEMBASSY SEOUL
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
USMISSION GENEVA PRIROITY
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 CARACAS 9583

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OTHER OFFICIALS ON UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY ISSUES

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TO STRESS GOB VIEW THAT HUMAN RIGHTS IS VERY BROAD FIELD WHICH
HAS BEEN IMPROPERLY NARROWED TO FOCUS ONLY ON POLITICAL
PRISONERS; THIS ASPECT TENDS TO GET ALL THE PUBLIC ATTENTION. (CHILE
CITED AS EXAMPLE, THOUGH MAIN CONCERN OBVIOUSLY IS BRAZIL ITSELF).
THEY CRITICIZED US AMNESTY PROPOSAL AT LAST GA AS POLITICALLY TOO
CONFRONTATIONAL. SAID HUMAN RIGHTS EFFORTS IN UN AND OAS WOULD

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BENEFIT FROM DEPOLITICIZATION; THEY FEARED THAT DEVELOPED COUNTREIS MAY USE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES IN THE UN AS COUNTERATTACKS AGAINST THE "AUTOMATIC MAJORITIES" FROM DEVELOPING WORLD. BRAZILIANS ARGUED THAT UN HAS A PROPER NORMATIVE FUNCTION TO PERFORM, BUT SHOULD NOT TAKE ON QUASI-JUDICIAL FUNCTION TO INVESTIGATE SPECIFIC CASES, A RESPONSIBILITY WHCH PROPERLY BELONGS TO INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES. THE US, SAID LEWIS, WANTS TO STRENGTHEN INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS MACHINERY SUCH AS THE UN AND INTERAMERICAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSIONS, WHILE WORKING TO MAKE SUCH BODIES MORE EVEN-HANDED AND OBJECTIVE. SILVEIRA OBSERVED THAT MANY ORGANIZATIONS THAT LOOK INTO ALLEGED HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS ARE LEFTIST INSIRED. THE GEISEL GOVT, HE ASSERTED, IS MAKING RESPONSIBLE EFFORTS ON THIS ISSUE: " THERE HAS BEEN CHANGE IN BRAZIL."

7. KOREA - COUNSELOR AZAMBUJA SAID BRAZIL HAD HOPED ISSUE WOULD NOT COME UP THIS YEAR. NOW, HOWEVER, THOSE HOPES HAVE BEEN DASHED BECAUSE KOREA IS ON THE AGENDA AT COLOMBO. HE SAID BRAZIL ADMITS SOME INCONGRUITY IN VOTING FOR "FRIENDLY" RESOLUTION AND ABSTAINING ON "UNFRIENDLY" ONE. HOWEVER, GOB IS LESS WORRIED ABOUT THE "FORMALISM" OF BEING LOGICAL, AND MORE ABOUT NEED TO HANDLE STRONG AND OPPOSING POLITICAL PRESSURES. WITH RESPECT TO VOTING, AZAMBUJA SAID GOB DOES NOT SEE ANY CHANGE INVOTING PATTERNS FOR UNGA. HE ADDED THAT THE KOREAN QUESTION IS NOT AUTOMATICALLY A NON- ALIGNED ISSUE, AND WULD NOT BE SETTLED BY COLOMBO OUTCOME. SECRETARY GENERAL GUERREIRO NOTED THAT BRAZIL IS NOT ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN KOREA ISSUE. WHEN PRESSED BY LEWIS, HE SAID GOB ISNOT LIKELY TO GO BEYOND LAST YEAR'S POSITION IN VOTING, IF CONFRONTATION OF RESOLUTIONS AGAIN OCCURS.

8. PUERTO RICO AND PANAMA - AZAMBUJA SAID FEWCCOUNTRIES BELIEVE PUERTO RICO IS A REAL ISSUE. IT IS ESSENTIALLY RETALIATORY MOVE AGAINST US FUELED PRIMARILY BY CUBA; " COMPENSATORY POLITICS" HE LABELED IT. AFTER STRONG PRESENTATION BY LEWIS ON US POSITION AND EXTREME SENSITIVITY OF ISSUE, FOREIGN MINISTER SILVEIRA SAID HE FULLY UNDERSTOOD SENSITIVITY AND THAT US COULD BE SURE BRAZIL WILL NOT SUPPORT ANY SUCH MOVES. HE ALSO ASSURED LEWIS THAT BRAZIL WOULD HELP MODERATE PANAMA ISSUE WHEN PSSIBLE

9. UN SECRETARY GENERAL BRAZILIANS ASKED ABOUT US VIEW ON THE ELECTION OF A NEW UN SECRETARY GENERAL. LEWIS REPLIED THAT CONFIDENTIAL

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THERE IS NO OFFICIAL US POSITION AS YET BECAUSE THERE IS NO

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OFFICIAL CANDIDATE. IF SECRETARY GENRAL WALDHEIM BECOMES A
CANDIDATE, THE US WOULD PROBABLY SUPPORT HIM. AMBASSADOR
SOUTO MAIOR SAID THAT WAS EXACTLY BRAZIL'S POSITION.

10. BRAZILIAN CANDIDATEFOR EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF WORLD FOOD
PROGRAM LEWIS ASKED ABOUT REPORTS OF A BRAZILIAN CANDIDATE
TO HEAD THE WORLD FOOD PROGRAM. SOUTO MAIOR SAID THERE IS NOT
NOW AND THERE NEVER WAS AN OFFICIAL BRAZILIAN CANDADTE. GOB
HAD BEEN TOLD OF FAO DIRECTOR GENERAL'S INTEREST IN APPOINTING A
CERTAIN BRAZILIAN, WHOM OF COURSE, THEY WOULD HAVE ENDORSED.
HOWEVER, HE HAD WITHDRAWN FOR PERSONAL REASONS. LEWIS EXPLAINED
THAT US INTEREST WAS PRIMARILY IN THE NUMBER 2 POSITION IN THAT
ORGANIZATION, NOW OCCUPIED BY AN AMERICAN WHO WILL SOON REIIRE,
THE US WOULD LIKE TO KEEP AN AMERICAN IN THAT POSITION IF THE TOP
JOB WERE UNAVAIBLABLE FOR US.

11. AFRICA DANGEROUS PROSPECTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA WERE
DISCUSSED AT LENGTH WITH VARIOUS OFFICIALS AND WITH FOMIN
BRAZILIANS LISTENED SKEPTICALLY TO LEWIS' REMARKS ABOUT DANGERS
POSED BY CUBAN TROOPS IN ANGOLA. SOUTO MAIOR BELIEVED CUBAN
TROOPS WOULD WITHDRAW FROM ANGOLA AS THE MPLA CONSOLIDATES ITS
POSITION. HE SAW NO PROSPECT FOR AN IMMEDIATE CUBAN WITH-
DRAWAL, HOWEVER, PARTLY BECAUSE MPLA HAS NOT FULLY
CONSOLIDATED ITSELF, AND PARTLY BECAUSE OTHER INSURGENT GROUPS
IN ANGOLA ARE STILL ACTIVE WITH EXTERNAL SUPPORT. LWEIS ASKED
ABOUT ANY EVIDENCE OF SUCH EXTERNAL SUPPORT; SOUT MAIOR
MENTIONED ZAMBIA AS SOURCE, DENYING ANY REF TO NON-AFRICAN
POWERS. BRAZILIANS ASKED WHETHER THE US CONTEMPLATED ANY CHANGE
IN ITS VETO OF ANGOLAN UN MEMBERSHIP. LEWIS SAID THAT HE BELIEVED
HE COULD SAFELY PREDICT THE US WILL NOT CONSIDER A CHANGE UNLESS THERE

IS CLEAR EVIDENCE OF A SHARP REDUCTION IN CUBAN TROOP PRESENCE.
FONMIN SILVEIRA SAID THAT SOUTH AFRICA HAS TO SETTLE ITS PROBLEMS
INTERNALLY AND THAT SOME DAY IT HAS THE POTENTIAL OF BECOMING AN
IMPORTANT COUNTRY. RHODESIA, ON THE OTHER HAND, IS ARTIFICAL AND
HE AGREED WITH KISSINER IN BELIEVING THT IT IS NECESSARY
TO FIND A RAPID PEACEFUL SOLUTION THERE, THOUGH PROBLEM IS VERY
COMPLEX. FOREIGN MINISTER SAID HE FEAS THAT CHANGES IN
SOURTHERN AFRICA WILL BE SUDDEN RATHER THAN PROGRESSIVE. HE
BELIEVE KISSINGER'S VISIT TO AFRICA AND HIM IMPORTANT
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SPEECH IN LUSAKA WERE VERY IMPORTANT FOR US IN AFRICA. SILVEIRA
SAID HE HAD TOLD THE SECRETARY THAT ONCE CUBA HAD BEN RELIEVED OF
ITS LATIN AMERICAN "ENCIRCLEMENT" IT WOULD BE READY TO TAKE PART IN
OTHER ADVENTURES ELSEWHERE. LEWIS ASKED WHETHER THERE
WAS ANY INDICATION OF A CUBAN WITHDRAWAL FROM ANGOLA FOLLOWING
THE CASTRO-NETO MEETING. FOREIGN MINISTER REPLIED THAT THE
CUBANS WILL LEAVE WHEN THE SITUATION IN ANGOLA HAS STABILIZED
INTERNALLY. HE POINTED OUT THAT CUBANS HAD OPPOSED ANGOLAN

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DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH BRAZIL, BUT THAT NETO DEFENDED THIS
STEP AS A WAY OF NOT FORECLOSING ANY OPTION.

12. US BRAZILIAN RELATIONS SILVERA OBSERVED THAT US ALWAYS
WANTS BRAZIL TO SUPPORT IT IN EVERYTHING BUT DENIES BRAZIL THE
WEAPONS TO PROTECT ITSELF. HE SAID BRAZIL WOULDHAVE A STONGER
POLICY IF IT HAD BETTER EQUIPPED TROOPS. IN WORLD WAR II AND IN THE
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, BRAZIL HAD PARTICPATED ALONG WITH US WITH
SMALL BUT WELL EQUIPPED FORCES. TODAY, HE SAID, BRAZIL LACKS
SOPHISTICATED WEAPONS AND HAS TO DEPEND ON ITSELF AND ITS OWN
RESOURCES. " WE HAVE TO SOLVE OUR OWN PROBLEMS."
SILVEIRA TWICE ALLEGED THAT "DEVELOPED COUNTRIES TENDED TO ASSERT
"MORALLY SUPERIOR POSITONS." THE US, HE SAID, IS ALWAYS CONVINCED
OF RIGHTNESS OF ITS POSTION AND TENDS TO CHANGE VERY SLOWLY. HE
SAID, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT BRAZIL(AND HE HAD PERSONALLY BEEN INVOLVED)
HAD PUSHED THE IDEA OF THE INTERAMERICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK FOR
MANY YEARS AGAINST US OPPOSITION; EVENTUALLY THE US CHANGED ITS
MIND. HE OFFERED AS A PIECE OF FRANK ADVICE THE VIEW THAT THE US
SHOLD AVOID GIVING THE IMPRESSION THAT IT IS ALWAYS RIGHT. (THEN
WITH UNUSUAL GRACIOUSNESS, HE SAID BRAZIL ALSO SOMETIMES MADE
MISTAKES AS WELL.)
FONMIN EXPRESSED GREAT PLEASURE THT THE NEW US-GOB
"MEMO OF UNDERSTAND" HAD PROVIDED A NEEDED FRAME-
WORK FOR FRANK EXCHANGES OF IDEAS; RESULT WAS THAT OF LATE BRAZIL
AND US HAVE BEEN MORE SUCCESSFUL IN ANTICIPATING AND AVOIDING
PROBLEMS.
LEWIS THANKED FONMIN FOR BRAZIL'S COOPERATION IN REACHING A
SATISFACTORY COMPROMISE SOLUTION AT ECOSOC ON THE ILLICIT
PAYMENTS PROPOSAL. SILVERA SAID BRAZIL WAS HAPPY TO BE OF
ASSISTANCE, BUT THAT AD HOC INTERGOVERNMENTAL GROUP NOW TO BE
FORMED MUST DEAL EQUALLY STERNLY WITH THE CORRUPTERS AS WELL
AS THE CORRUPTED.
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